

# "SUN" READERS STILL DISCUSS WAR CAUSES AND EFFECTS

## Would Put World's Military Power Back of Hague Court

Arthur N. Taylor Offers Plan to Meet Col. Roosevelt's Objection That Arbitration Without Power to Enforce It Is Futile.

### TAX ALL TO MEET COST OF JOINT ARMY AND NAVY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: What may be the results of the European war, it has served the purpose of eradicating from the mind of those capable of observing and drawing correct conclusions certain fallacious beliefs which were on the side of the Atlantic have fondly cherished for years.

No longer can we comfort ourselves with the thought that twentieth century civilization places man upon a plane above the penetration of the horrors and even atrocities of war, but rather we have before us the demonstration that the present enlightenment and scientific attainment serve but to speed Mars with the greater certainty and efficiency in his work of dire destruction.

No longer can we feel the slightest protection in relying upon a treaty unless by our own powers we are in a position to treat another nation so disposed from treating it as "just a scrap of paper."

No longer can we indulge in the hope that any arbitration court, as now constituted, can afford us any aid or comfort if overruled by a slumlord similar to that which has overwhelmed Europe.

In short, nations stand today where the individuals stood during the Dark Ages and into the Middle Ages. Personal prowess settled all rights. The two requisites to ownership were, first, to covet, and, second, the power coupled with the will to take and keep. If any one doubts let him read of the tax levied upon the various cities of Belgium taken by the Germans and the details of the occupation of those cities.

### Col. Roosevelt's Views.

Col. Roosevelt discussing this question has, more or less definitely, at a possible plan or organization better calculated to maintain peace, a peace based upon justice and righteousness. He says, "We should endeavor to devise some method of action in common with other nations whereby there shall be at least a reasonable chance of securing world peace and in any event narrowing the space of any war which might be waged." The spokesman must be put back of the judge in international law just as he is back of the judge in municipal law. The effective power of civilization must be put back of civilization's collector of taxes to secure reasonable justice between nation and nation.

Again he says: "The Hague court has proved worthless in the present situation. There is hardly a Hague treaty which has not in some respect been violated. However, a step toward the peaceful settlement of questions at issue between nations which are not vital has been accomplished by the Hague court and by rational and limited peace or arbitration treaties in the past. Our business is to try to make this court of more effect and to enlarge the class of cases where its actions will be valuable. In order to do this we must endeavor to put an international police force behind the international judiciary."

He shows that the effectual settlement of the questions at issue in the present great war can be accomplished only by some such medium as that suggested without the unfortunate humbling of one or more of the great Powers.

### Offers Plan for Court.

Recognizing the inadequacy of the present means of peacefully adjusting international differences, I sketched a plan more than a year ago for the organization of a court so constituted as to overcome this defect. This plan I showed to some of my friends, eminent lawyers in this city. Some believe the plan practicable, others were skeptical, but none urged objections which appeared to me insuperable. In the light of present events the plan has lost nothing in point of feasibility, but it has gained much for the apparent necessity for its adoption, either in whole or in part with modification.

In this sketch, after referring to the development of courts which settled disputes between individuals were settled in an orderly way instead of in the primeval manner, I said:

"Actions in their dealings with each other presumably pursue a form of dignified diplomatic intercourse calculated to minimize the danger of hasty and ill-considered action, yet it is apparent that nations in conducting their affairs are actuated quite as much by the basic principles of human nature as are individuals. It therefore would seem to follow that the plan which has resulted in an orderly adjustment of personal disputes could be applied with equal success to adjustment of national difficulties. A start has been made in this direction by the creation of the permanent Court of Arbitration of The Hague, yet as a power to maintain a continued international peace this court would seem to be a negligible quantity although it might have jurisdiction to determine all questions of international law. The reason why it is not applied is that it is without power to enforce its decisions."

### Power to Enforce Necessary.

"What State would organize a court and give to it power only to decide the questions submitted by litigants? And what court so organized could maintain the respect of the litigants? It is the power of the State behind the court which forced obedience in its officers prepared to enforce the court's decrees which creates profound respect in the minds of the litigants and gives to the court a dignity which the litigants, knowing themselves powerless to resist, unquestioningly comply with."

"As to the international court, what corresponds to the State? And where is the Sheriff?"

"The nearest approach to the 'State' in this plan is the group of nations among which are the litigants and all of which are more or less interested. As for the Sheriff, there is none. The conditions are much the same as when in the remote past our forefathers in their endeavors to adjust in any orderly way the disputes among themselves first appointed a judge or umpire to decide upon the abstract rights involved, but reserved to themselves the right of fighting for or resisting the decision as should seem to them desirable."

"In order to equip the international court with the power to enforce its decrees, the State or in this case, the entire nation establishing the court, must place at its command, as did the litigants of old, the entire machinery of defense and offense. In other words the international court, to stand on a basis of equality with the courts which have been found sufficient for the adjustment of questions of individual differences, must have at its command the armies and navies of the countries constituting it."

"Startling as this assertion appears, a careful consideration of all that it im-

thoroughly discussed and debated and the public satisfied that its merits are such as to warrant its adoption.

ARTHUR N. TAYLOR.

### SEES GERMAN BLUNDER IN BIG STICK POLICY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: Reading the deeply interesting expression of views on the subject of Germany, the Kaiser and other similar matters in the leading magazines and newspapers, the impression conveyed to a sympathizer with the allies is that the German view, even though expressed by the most competent exponents, is lacking in perfect sincerity. It falls short of the truth because of incomplete analysis.

One eminent professor treats France as being among the formidable array of obstacles against the peaceful expansion of Germany because France, "unwilling to forget her national humiliation," kept preparing incessantly for the day of revenge. Everybody knows that if France, always accused of never being ready, had officially set aside her revengeful aims as to the lost provinces this would not have saved her from being gradually pushed by Germany from her position as a great Power into one of subservience to the Wilhelmstrasse.

France at last could not follow any foreign policy without German interference, yet to avoid war she had parted with colonial French territory. France stood as much of this as could be borne by a self-respecting nation. I can, therefore, claim to be a realist. A sincere analysis can only discover in the end that had there been no German threats such as at Agadir, the French Ministry, no land grabblings such as of French Congo, France today would have been totally unprepared to fight Germany either on sea or land.

If the Germans had more accurately they would have hidden the big stick until France had been disarmed by confidence. The French are armed to the teeth and are quite living up to their military reputation.

This blunder on the part of Germany is characteristic. The Germans we see in the press, in the street and in the too often blundering when it comes to diplomacy. The disciples of Machiavelli, as some German statesmen seem to be, it is certainly an egregious blunder to threaten France. Four diplomacy will probably be the ruin of Germany.

Again the German publicists claim too much. It is conceded that in most practical matters the Germans are intelligent, but in applied science for example, they certainly squeeze the juice, so to speak, out of science and lubricate with it all things they are not inventive. They lack genius. They are not frequent in Germany. In the fine arts they are not to be named with the French nor in literature (leaving out the few writers of the last generation) nor in basic discoveries in science (leaving out the names of Pascal, Pasteur, Lavoisier and those of real frontiers—not adapters or copiers).

German military science is deeply indebted to Napoleon. Even in music of late years the French have left them far behind, as to composers. It is, however, understood and agreed that the Germans are a wonderful people, that has done wonderful things. That is conceded with pleasure and much admiration by all who admire practical results and wish aside for the occasional all moral questions.

There are many persons, however, who keep measuring everything with a moral unit of measurement. To these persons Germany does not measure up to the standard. To these persons the questions keep cropping up, "Why so many Germans willing and able to abuse themselves to the level of the apes?" "How in a General in the moment of failure when his services are most needed and his honor is at stake desert his military children and the field he fought so bravely committing suicide?" and the merchants who leave their families and creditors in the lurch after shooting themselves. All this argues inferior moral fibre. Suicide and spying are common in Germany.

In one of the latest magazines the character of the German Kaiser is summed up as follows: "Richard Wagner's Parsifal and the Nietzschean Superman seem combined in him," and again, "He urges his own sons to labor incessantly to make themselves true personalities, taking as their goal, Jesus, 'the most personal of all personalities.'"

The Kaiser, it is said, is thoroughly representative of modern Germany. It is certainly a strange combination of this Parsifal and Superman, a follower of Christ and a follower of Nietzsche. To fuse in one nature Christ and Nietzsche is a chief doctrine of scientific barbarism. Germany, as in all countries, philosophers and poets, like Nietzsche, come and go. His influence waxes and wanes, but always something remains more or less permanently. What Nietzsche left was the contempt of pity. This is what has alarmed the world. We believe in a Parsifal, but not in the Superman.

NEW YORK, October 16.

### SEES NO PERIL FOR TEUTONIC CULTURE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: It is unfortunate that pro-Germans confuse the issue by imbedding the present conflict in a cultural struggle. What is the real relationship of culture to war? To what extent do philosophy, literature

and art reflect social and economic conditions? Years ago Taine endeavored to find the origin of creative works in a study of the environments in which they were produced. It is questionable if his work has appreciably altered critical tendencies. In fact, we doubt if at present we can unravel the strands which connect thought with life.

What is certain is that modern German literature, philosophy and art are of a symbolic texture, in no way reflecting militarism.

For a time a historical school in Germany utilized the doctrine of the "Will to Power." More recently we had evidence of myth-making in Stewart Chamberlain's grandiose pretensions. He used the phrase "Teutonic culture" in the sense of Teutonic civilization, law and polity, opposing it to non-Aryan civilizations. Perhaps it is this myth which has now befuddled the minds of German advocates. If that is so then it is perfectly comprehensible that the faith in Teutonic destiny should be embraced by those who are too sentimental to grant the material roots of war.

What Bernhardt and Treitschke stated bluntly has been restated in spiritual language, until many Germans are ready to believe that German "culture" is at stake. This belief is a vital lie and has its value; but it should not be made the column, pillar and arch of the German defense. That defense may be predicated on the need for new markets and territorial expansion.

Let it be understood that the criticisms of German policy can apply, with minor variations, to all the great Powers. Furthermore it will clarify the discussion if it is pointed out that the balance of power theory contained the germ of dissolution which later became disastrously through conflicting economic aims, racial aspirations and the awakening of the Balkan States. And finally let the cant of democracy opposed to militarism cease for an alliance of England, France and Russia for other than material ends is the devil playing monk.

L. A. SOLOMON.

NEW YORK, October 9.

### BELIEVES GERMANY WANTS TO GET BRAZIL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: I have been living in New York for past nineteen years; in fact only left that city on a visit to England some six weeks ago. I can, therefore, claim to be a realist, well acquainted with the views of Americans as expressed in the daily journals with regard to Germans in South America. I have also recently read abstracts from American journals in which it was stated that President Wilson has urged that no partisan feeling be shown by citizens or papers of the United States with respect to the present war in Europe.

I wish to point out that, putting on one side sentiment, the repatriation that all right minded persons must feel for the manner in which the German Government has broken treaties and violated internationality, citizens of the United States must appreciate the fact that their material interests are bound up in the issue. If Great Britain falls, America loses her best customer, while the past history of German commercial methods holds out no hope that America will benefit in any one way by a German triumph. And if Germany triumphs, America will be against Germany and with France because where the issues are between republics and aristocracies you will find the Americans behind the republics every time.

By various methods known to Ameri-

cans who live or trade in South America Germany has captured a considerable portion of that trade. Nor is this all. In her endeavor to gain a foothold in South America she has been unobtrusively but persistently backed up by her Government.

For more than a generation there has been propaganda, actively supported by the German Government, going on in South America, especially in the Southern States of Brazil, South Carolina, Panama and most of all in Rio Grande do Sul. The German population in those States is generally estimated at a million.

It is obvious that while under past circumstances Germany would not have cared to give effect to these aspirations to the extent of risking a conflict with the United States she has been patiently waiting for the moment which would be afforded by American embarrassment or isolation to give her the opportunity to realize her dreams of colonial empire in South America. Such an opportunity would be supplied by her winning in the present conflict.

CHARLES O. CLOUTING.

NORFOLK, England, September 27.

### GERMAN LEVY OF TRIBUTE ON LONDON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In your Sunday's issue George Helmuth of Brooklyn, a German American, with the accent on the German, waxed exceedingly wroth against "the Englishman's peculiar ability to hide the truth with hypocritical phrases," suspending contract obligations toward Germans during the war.

Before blackguarding the English Mr. Helmuth ought to tell us what the Germans are doing about the payment of past due bills aggregating upward of \$40,000,000, the acceptance of which they secured in London just before bringing on war. They thus prudently collected tribute out of the city of London by stealth as a prelude to their levies at Liege, Brussels and Antwerp by force!

M. L.

IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON, October 12.

### SAYS U. S. SYMPATHY IS WITH BELGIUM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In the issue of October 10 you print a communication from C. L. Schless, who asks where should lie the sympathies of a nation like the United States, who prides herself in her belief in "fair play." Mr. Schless makes the mistake of thinking that the sympathies of the United States are with England.

If he were more observant he would know that as a general rule Americans are a little inclined to consider themselves above England and Englishmen. They have not approved of England's policies toward her colonies or toward foreign countries with which she had differences.

That, however, does not matter now. The American people oppose all unfairness as Mr. Schless suggests and for that reason they sympathize with Belgium and against the cause of her distress.

In the second place if Belgium had not been invaded and Germany had attacked France by some other avenue the sympathies of America would still be against Germany and with France because where the issues are between republics and aristocracies you will find the Americans behind the republics every time.

DOUGLAS L. SCHNEIDER.

BROOKLYN, October 11.

## British "Navalism" Has Not Menaced Trade, Says Fox

New Haven Man Asserts Dr. Dernburg's Theories Are Proved False by History of Merchant Marine Growth.

### CITES ENGLAND'S CONSIDERATION FOR NATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: In my last letter, criticizing Dr. Dernburg's logic, I showed the folly of his statement that British fortified coaling stations threatened the commerce of all nations. That is especially true of the Western Hemisphere. From Halifax on the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific there is not a strongly fortified coaling station which menaces the commerce of the United States or any other nation. On the Pacific coast of this continent there is no British coaling station of any sort until Vancouver, in British Columbia, is reached, and the one there can hardly be spoken of as strongly fortified. Dr. Dernburg's feeling against England leads him constantly to assertions which do not bear close examination. I will prove this by discussing two or three.

He says: "If at British demand the German navy is dismantled, then the United States cannot have a mercantile marine without a navy that can, single handed, cope with the British."

In 1911 Norway had a mercantile steam tonnage equal to that of France, of Japan, twice as great as that of Austria, and nearly twice that of Italy, yet its navy is insignificant.

The appeal to history shows Dr. Dernburg in error in the same way. For two centuries England's navy has very much surpassed those of other nations, yet no peaceful nation has had any cause to fear it. Prussia had no fleet of any kind until 1865, and no enormous fleet until 1900. Yet the two great German steamship companies, founded before 1850, through enterprise and industry grew enormously during the last half of the last century.

The history of the United States tells the same story. Our tonnage engaged in foreign trade in 1861 reached 2,494,824 tons, the highest figure for foreign tonnage in our history.

Dr. Dernburg says: "British navalism, which is much more dangerous to the world at large than the so-called German militarism, demands that two British ships shall always exist for one of any nation whatever. And while it may be said that the world is now doing its utmost to get away from the mother country, and constantly through her universities, her schools, her army and her press has taught her citizens enmity toward her best customer."

I am proud as an American citizen to see how my own country in this matter towers above Germany and stands above a pygmy. Vera Cruz and Louvain. Compare the two! The conditions of "sniping" were the same, but how different the treatment!

GLENN L. FOX.

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, Conn., October 8.

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